

The AIPAC Briefing Book

2019 EDITION

116TH CONGRESS

1ST SESSION



About AIPAC

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is a bipartisan organization of U.S. citizens committed solely to strengthening, protecting and promoting the U.S.-Israel relationship in ways that enhance the security of the United States and Israel.

Every day, AIPAC's staff and citizen activists engage with decision-makers about the bonds that unite the two countries and how it is in America's best interest to help ensure that the Jewish state remains safe, strong and secure. AIPAC works to expand the U.S.-Israel alliance by cultivating relationships around shared values and by empowering pro-Israel leaders across America, including those from the Jewish, African American, Hispanic, Christian, progressive, veteran and student communities.

AIPAC advocates for vital security assistance to Israel and the development of cooperative missile defense programs with the United States, which allow Israel to defend itself by itself. We work to end Israel's isolation in international forums and to support its efforts to achieve peace with the Palestinians through direct, bilateral negotiations. And we promote strategic cooperation in key sectors including technology, energy, cybersecurity, border security, intelligence sharing and agriculture.

AIPAC urges all members of Congress to support Israel through foreign aid, government partnerships, joint anti-terrorism efforts and the promotion of peace through a negotiated two-state solution—a Jewish state of Israel living alongside a demilitarized Palestinian state.

A registered domestic lobby supported by private contributions, AIPAC does not receive direction or financial assistance from Israel, any national organization or any foreign group. AIPAC is not a political action committee. It does not rate, endorse or contribute to candidates.

For more than 60 years, AIPAC has worked to make a difference. Together, we are building a better tomorrow for the United States and Israel.

Table of Contents

Introduction iv

Chapter 1

Israel: A Paragon of Peace and Democracy1

Chapter 2

Israel: A Force for Good in the World9

Chapter 3

The U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership19

Chapter 4

The Iranian Threat33

Chapter 5

The Peace Process45

Chapter 6

Security Assistance and Foreign Aid57

Chapter 7

Hezbollah67

Chapter 8

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement75

Appendix

Maps81

Introduction

The AIPAC Policy Agenda

The United States and Israel face unprecedented challenges in the Middle East, ranging from Iran's efforts to dominate the region to increased security threats on Israel's borders. The unique bond between Washington and Jerusalem is an indispensable asset for ensuring the security of both nations. Congress has a vital role to play in strengthening the U.S.-Israel partnership. AIPAC's 2019 legislative agenda seeks to strengthen the cooperation between America and Israel to confront the mounting threats to both nations, our allies, and our regional and global objectives.

In this context, AIPAC seeks to advance the following key policy objectives:

- **Prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapons capability;**
 - **Oppose Iran's malign regional activities,** including its support of terrorist groups like Hezbollah and Hamas;
 - **Promote a two-state solution** through direct bilateral negotiations that results in a Jewish state of Israel living side-by-side in peace with a demilitarized Palestinian state;
 - **Support a robust foreign aid budget,** including \$3.3 billion in vital security assistance to Israel in fiscal year 2020 as part of the most recent 10-year U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding (MOU);
 - **Back critical funding for U.S.-Israel missile defense cooperation** and maintain Israel's qualitative military edge;
 - **Enhance U.S. strategic cooperation with Israel** to help both countries combat growing threats;
 - **Boost non-defense cooperation with Israel** in numerous areas including homeland security, energy, environment and trade; and
 - **Counter efforts to isolate and delegitimize Israel.**
-

How AIPAC Can Help Your Office

AIPAC provides resources to help you and your office stay informed on the latest news and analyses of the Middle East as well as related happenings on Capitol Hill. AIPAC's staff is always available to answer questions and provide additional information. **Contact AIPAC staff** at any time at **information@aipac.org** or at **202-639-5298**.

- **Visit our website** at **www.aipac.org** for the latest news and analysis on critical issues affecting the U.S.-Israel relationship.
- **Subscribe to AIPAC policy publications.** AIPAC produces a wide range of e-publications offering the latest news, insights and analyses of the critical issues affecting the U.S.-Israel relationship. Subscribe at **www.aipac.org/policypublications**.
 - *Daily News Digest*: A daily compilation of key news articles on the Middle East and beyond.
 - *Issue Memos*: Periodic AIPAC analyses of critical developments in the Middle East as they unfold.
 - *Near East Report*: AIPAC's flagship publication on U.S. Middle East policy.
 - *Defense Digest*: A monthly compilation of key articles highlighting U.S.-Israel defense cooperation.
 - *Homeland Security Monitor*: A quarterly compilation of key articles highlighting U.S.-Israel homeland security cooperation.
 - *Energy Matters*: A quarterly compilation of key articles highlighting America and Israel's search for energy security.
 - *Innovation Update*: A quarterly compilation of key articles highlighting America and Israel's innovations.
- **Attend issue briefings on the Hill.** AIPAC and the American Israel Education Foundation (AIEF), the charitable organization affiliated with AIPAC, regularly hold briefings on Capitol Hill for congressional staff.
- **Follow AIPAC on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram.**

Chapter 1

Israel: A Paragon of Peace and Democracy



In 1948, David Ben-Gurion—who would become Israel's first prime minister—declared the establishment of the State of Israel as an independent homeland for the Jewish people, approximately 3,000 years after the establishment of the first Jewish commonwealth in the Holy Land. Today, Israel is America's most important ally in the Middle East and thrives as a unique sanctuary of democracy and liberty.

Key Points

- **Commitment to Democracy:** Following in the Western tradition, Israel is a liberal democratic state rooted in liberty, the rule of law, free and fair elections and full civil rights for all its citizens.
- **Equality for All:** Israel's Declaration of Independence guarantees "complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex." Israel protects the rights of all its citizens, including women, minorities and members of the LGBTQ community.
- **Freedom of Expression:** Israel guarantees freedom of speech, press and religion.
- **Rights of Women:** Israeli women are leaders in Israel's government, military, businesses and civil society. Legally protected and publicly empowered, they are valued as agents of growth, prosperity and change.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

Congress should continue its historic role as the world's leading defender of Israel's legitimacy and its right to exist. This effort should include the following elements:

- Support Israel's legitimacy in the international community and its right to exist;
 - Support Israel's right to defend itself against the myriad threats it faces;
 - Oppose actions to boycott, divest from, sanction or otherwise harm Israel;
 - Develop new opportunities to enhance U.S.-Israel cooperation;
 - Impede the malign activities of Israel's and America's foes in the Middle East;
 - Oppose entities that unfairly attack Israel; and
 - Champion efforts to enhance Israel's position in the international arena by demanding equal opportunities and treatment for Israel in international organizations.
-

From Ancient Israel to Modern Zionism

The Jewish people established their first independent political entity around 1000 BCE and have maintained a continuous presence in the land of Israel for more than 3,000 years. Despite repeated expulsions, the Jewish people have always maintained both a physical and spiritual attachment to their homeland.

Israel's 70th Anniversary

On May 14, 2018, Israel celebrated the 70th anniversary of its independence. The State of Israel was established in 1948 in the wake of the systematic murder of 6 million Jews during the Holocaust. Rooted in the fundamental tenet of Zionism—that Jews must enjoy the right to self-determination in their historic homeland—Israel continues to serve as a refuge for Jews worldwide and a focal point for Jewish aspirations. Israelis have built their country based on the principles of freedom and democracy for all citizens, fulfilling both a political and historical imperative.

Upon declaring independence, Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, said the Jewish state would “extend the hand of peace to all its neighbors” and grant “full and equal citizenship and due representation” for the non-Jewish population. In response, the armies of five surrounding Arab states invaded the fledgling Jewish state.



On May 14, 2018, the Jewish state celebrated the 70th anniversary of its independence.

A New Nation Struggles for Survival

Since its establishment, Israel has constantly struggled to survive. The Jewish state has faced hostile neighbors with numerically superior armed forces and contended with the constant threat of terrorism.

In its early years, Israel fought four defensive wars against its Arab adversaries: the 1948 War of Independence, the 1956 Suez War, the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 Yom Kippur War. During the Six-Day War, Israel gained control over the Sinai Peninsula (later returned to Egypt in exchange for peace), the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip (evacuated in 2005 in hopes of achieving peace), the West Bank and the Old City of Jerusalem. The united city of Jerusalem is Israel's capital, and Israel has opened the city to all—protecting and guaranteeing access to Christian, Muslim and Jewish holy sites.

Israel Shares America's Commitment to Democracy, Liberty and Civil Rights

On May 14, 1948, President Harry Truman made the historic decision to recognize the State of Israel, making the United States the first nation to do so. From this strong start, the U.S.-Israel relationship has been grounded in common values and interests. Across the political spectrum, Americans view Israel as a kindred spirit.

Both countries were founded as refuges for immigrants fleeing persecution. Both share a fundamental commitment to democracy; rule of law; freedom of speech, press, religion; and equal rights for all citizens.

America's identification with Israel is regularly reflected in public opinion polls that demonstrate overwhelming support among Americans for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship. The American people support Israel as a fellow democracy, the only one of its kind in the Middle East, similarly devoted to securing the individual liberties of its diverse citizenry.

Israel Is a Beacon of Freedom and Civil Rights

As the Middle East's lone democratic country, Israel far exceeds its neighbors in the rights and civil liberties it provides to its residents. Characterized by its stable electoral democracy, inclusive and accessible government, and freedom of speech, religion and assembly, Israel has dedicated itself to protecting the rights of Israelis from all political, economic and religious backgrounds. Women, Arabs and members of the LGBTQ community serve openly in elected office. Journalists, academics and ordinary citizens alike are able to criticize the government freely without fear of retribution.

Vibrant Press and Legal System: Israel values the freedoms of press and speech, resulting in countless private news outlets and publications that represent all viewpoints of society. A broad range of civil rights are guaranteed by law, and guarded by myriad private organizations and citizen action groups.

Israel is easily the most advanced and tolerant country in the Middle East on matters such as the right to a fair trial and protection of minority rights. The right to a fair trial and protection of minority rights are enshrined in the country's laws. Israel also maintains an independent judicial system, and the Israeli Supreme Court provides a powerful check on the other two branches of government.

Freedom of Religion: While 75 percent of Israeli citizens are Jewish, the country's Declaration of Independence ensures freedom of religion for all of its citizens. In stark contrast to its neighbors, Israel provides a safe and welcoming environment for people of Christian, Muslim and Bahai faiths. In fact, it is the only country in the Middle East where the Christian population has grown since 1948. Since Jerusalem's 1967 unification, Israel also ensures freedom of access to the city's holy sites for all religions.

Women's Rights: Israel's Declaration of Independence enshrines equality for both sexes, and this core value is protected by numerous statutes. The Knesset passed the Women's Equal Rights Law in 1951, guaranteeing equal protection under the law and providing legal basis for

gender equality in all spheres of life. In 1969, Israel became the third country in the world to elect a female prime minister. Women have held key roles throughout Israel's political system, including chief justice of the Supreme Court, speaker of the Knesset and permanent representative to the United Nations.



Israel is a champion of women's and minority rights. In 2018, a record number of women served in the Knesset.

Minority Rights: Israel's minorities are guaranteed the same rights as the country's majority Jewish population. Israeli Arabs serve on Israel's Supreme Court and are free to vote and run for office in the Knesset. In 2018, 13 Israeli Arabs and four Druze held seats in the Knesset. Israeli Arabs also serve as diplomats and generals, as well as in other influential and high-ranking government positions.

LGBTQ Rights: Israel is a world leader in upholding the rights of its lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer citizens. Accordingly, Israel's LGBTQ community enjoys equality and inclusion throughout society. Under Israeli civil law, same-sex and heterosexual couples enjoy the same rights, including tax breaks, hospital visitation, inheritance rights, housing aid and litigation. Every year, Israel hosts more than 200,000 people from around the world for its Tel Aviv Pride event, which includes the largest LGBTQ pride parade in the Middle East and Asia.

Chapter 2

Israel: A Force for Good in the World



By sharing its experience, technologies, humanitarian aid and know-how with others, Israel has improved the lives of millions of people worldwide. Whether through technological advancements or responses to natural disasters, the Jewish state is making a positive impact on the world.

Key Points

- **Israeli-Developed Technologies:** Israeli-developed technologies in fields ranging from health care to high-tech are improving lives around the world.
- **Green Technologies:** Israel's advanced, cutting-edge renewable energy and water sectors have made it an international leader in clean technology.
- **Humanitarian Assistance Program:** Israel has one of the most sophisticated humanitarian assistance programs in the world, reaching the needy in countries near and far to provide critical aid.
- **Disaster Response:** With a breadth of experience in disaster response, Israel is often among the first to assist countries impacted by natural disasters, terrorism, disease or war.
- **Agricultural Techniques:** Known for "making the desert bloom," Israel has pioneered innovative agricultural techniques and shared them with the world.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

Congress should continue to support Israel's efforts to provide humanitarian aid and share scientific research:

- In its annual foreign aid bill, Congress should continue to fund programs that facilitate Israel's humanitarian efforts;
 - Congress should build upon the remarkable achievements of U.S.-Israel binational foundations by providing continued funding for their activities: the Binational Agricultural Research and Development (BARD) Foundation, the Binational Industrial Research and Development (BIRD) Foundation and the Binational Science Foundation (BSF). These important programs connect American and Israeli scientists, companies and entrepreneurs in the development of breakthrough innovations and technologies; and
 - Congress should continue to expand the 2014 U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership Act and explore new areas for increased U.S.-Israeli bilateral cooperation.
-

Israeli High-Tech Contributions Revolutionize the World

Israel's high-tech civil innovations, including groundbreaking computer hardware, nanotechnology, software, medical devices and environmental advancements, are incorporated into homes and businesses worldwide and are making a positive impact on many important aspects of human life.

The United States has taken action to capitalize on Israel's expertise in these fields. Established by the U.S. and Israeli governments in 1977 to generate mutually beneficial cooperation, the BIRD Foundation connects promising American and Israeli researchers, entrepreneurs and companies. Since its inception, BIRD has approved more than 950 projects, resulting in a cumulative sale of innovative products exceeding \$10 billion.

Israel Provides Developmental and Humanitarian Assistance on a Global Scale

Equipped with firsthand knowledge of the challenges that resource-poor countries face, Israel has provided aid to numerous nations to help them stimulate growth and development. From

Texas to Syria, South Sudan to Puerto Rico, Israel continues to play a major role in relief efforts throughout the world.



In the aftermath of hurricanes Harvey, Irma, Maria and Jose, IsraAid sent teams to help with relief efforts.

Even before it had established embassies in many world capitals, Israel sent experts abroad to teach developing nations how to upgrade medical facilities, improve schools and coax crops from arid land.

Today, Israel has extensive disaster relief programs, particularly for a nation of its size. Israel has provided critical on-the-ground assistance after numerous natural disasters, including field hospitals, search and rescue and psychological support. In the aftermath of hurricanes Harvey and Irma, several teams of Israelis joined the emergency relief efforts in Texas and Florida. Israel sent an emergency

response team from Israeli NGO IsraAID to Puerto Rico following Hurricane Maria, including professionals from its established team in Haiti. IsraAID also sent a team to help wildfire victims in California. To this day, Israelis are still on the ground helping many of these communities recover.

From 2013 to 2018, during the peak of the Syrian civil war, Israel transported more than 10,000 wounded Syrians to Israeli hospitals and field clinics as part of Operation Good Neighbor. In addition to treating thousands of injured Syrians at Israeli medical facilities, Israel also delivered thousands of tons of humanitarian supplies.

In July 2018, Israel evacuated hundreds of Syrian “White Helmet” rescue workers and their families in an overnight rescue operation. The White Helmets—an assortment of Syrian civilians-turned-rescue volunteers—saved more than 100,000 people in the civil war and faced imminent danger from the Syrian regime. At America’s request, Israel conducted an extensive humanitarian operation to move the White Helmets and their families out of Syria and into Jordan.

Israel was among the first countries to deliver aid to Sierra Leone following the devastating floods and mudslides that left hundreds dead and thousands homeless in August 2017. Less than a day after Sierra Leone’s national security adviser made a plea for food aid, Israel delivered 10,000 meals for distribution to survivors. Additionally, IsraAID—which has worked in Sierra Leone since 2014—has remained on the ground cleaning up, helping survivors and providing psychological assistance and stress relief.

In 2017, Israel’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided six tons of food aid to drought-stricken villages in South Sudan. MASHAV—the Hebrew acronym for Israel’s Agency for International Development Cooperation—along with Israel’s embassy in South Sudan, coordinated the relief effort.

MASHAV helps share Israeli technology and expertise with the developing world. As part of Israel’s Foreign Ministry, MASHAV has trained some 270,000 course participants from approximately 132 countries to assist third-world countries in social, economic and environmentally sustainable development.

Israeli Technology Advances Key Agricultural Techniques

Israel is 60 percent desert, and its farmers and agricultural scientists have long focused on expanding both the yield and quality of crops, as well as making agriculture more efficient. Israeli techniques and technology, such as drip irrigation, have had a groundbreaking impact on the farming industry.

And now, Israel is using its experience cultivating arid environments to help others through a series of agriculture programs that include human capacity building, research cooperation, demonstration farms and agribusiness consulting centers.

The BARD Foundation connects American and Israeli researchers in the development of agricultural technologies. Created in 1977, BARD has funded more than 1,100 projects, investing roughly \$400 million in basic and applied science. Breakthroughs in arid land resource management, food safety and environmental protection represent just a few of the many developments facilitated by BARD.

Israeli Doctors Develop Life-Saving Treatments and Drugs

Israeli doctors, scientists and researchers have produced countless medical advances that are improving the lives of millions worldwide. By encouraging advanced research and development, Israel has produced treatments for a variety of ailments. Some examples include:

- *ExAblate*: An ultrasound system that allows doctors to destroy tumors or other targets deep inside the body without surgery.
 - *Gelrin*: An injectable, biosynthetic gel used to stimulate bone repair.
 - *PillCam*: An ingestible video capsule that performs a minimally invasive endoscopy.
 - *ReWalk*: A product that enables wheelchair users with lower-limb disabilities to walk, climb stairs and drive cars.
 - *ViaDerm Drug Delivery System*: A pain-free, electronic applicator that pushes medication into the bloodstream through a dermal patch.
-

In January 2016, Israeli Health Minister Ya'acov Litzman and U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services Sylvia Mathews Burwell signed a cooperation agreement in the field of health innovation. Teams from the two countries will work together to advance health and the quality of medical treatment through investments in medical research and cooperation in the fields of aging and health quality indicators.



In December 2015, the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs announced it would provide ReWalk for all qualifying veterans.

Israel Contributes to a Cleaner World

In an era of booming populations, resource depletion and environmental degradation, Israel remains a world leader in critical fields such as clean energy technologies and seawater desalination. As nations struggle to make the most of their resources, Israel's cutting-edge technologies promise to improve the health and living standards of hundreds of millions of people across the globe. Israeli products make industry more efficient and minimize the environmental impact of human activities.

Partnering with the United States and other countries around the world, the Jewish state's private and public sectors serve as champions of environmental innovation. In October 2018, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Acting Administrator Andrew Wheeler and Israeli Ambassador to the United States Ron Dermer revamped a pact between the EPA and the Ministry of Environmental Protection of Israel to advance bilateral collaboration on scientific and environmental issues of mutual interest. "Throughout his presidency, President Trump has delivered on his promise to elevate and strengthen our relationship with Israel," said Wheeler. "Today, we are renewing and fortifying our longstanding partnership with Israel to promote bilateral cooperation on important environmental issues."

In 2014, in the midst of one of the region's worst droughts on record, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu signed a deal with California Gov. Jerry Brown to export Israeli desalination



In June 2016, Israeli company Energiya USA opened Georgia's first commercial-scale solar field.

and water-security technology to the state. The Carlsbad Desalination Plant—which was designed and implemented by Israeli company IDE Technologies—is the largest, most technologically advanced and energy efficient seawater desalination plant in the United States. Each day, the plant delivers nearly 50 million gallons of fresh, desalinated water to San Diego County—enough to serve around 400,000 people.

In 2016, Energiya USA, a subsidiary of Israel's Energiya Global, opened Georgia's first commercial-scale solar field. The company was selected by Georgia Power to lead the \$30 million project. The 59-acre field based in Glynn County will produce 22.5 megawatts of electricity as part of a 20-year contract.

And in December 2017, the United States and Israel entered into an MOU to increase access to energy in sub-Saharan Africa. The MOU will enable the Jewish state to join the Power Africa initiative, which is led by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Spearheaded by the United States, the initiative seeks to connect 60 million households in Africa to the electricity grid by 2030.

Israel is also currently constructing the world's largest solar tower in the Negev Desert.

Israel Plays an Increasing Role in U.S. Space Programs

The U.S.-Israel space relationship began in 1985, when the Israel Space Agency (ISA) and NASA began cooperating on several projects on a case-by-case basis. A decade later, the two agencies regularized cooperation and signed their first agreement outlining areas of mutual cooperation in the peaceful use of space.

In 2015, NASA and ISA entered into a new formal agreement to bolster collaboration on civil space activities.

Under this deal, NASA is able to utilize Israeli innovation and technology in U.S. space programs—including future missions to Mars and many other endeavors.



In October 2018, NASA and the Israel Space Agency (ISA) signed an agreement to cooperate on Israeli nonprofit Spacell's unmanned spacecraft, which is expected to land on the moon in February 2019.

In October 2018, NASA and ISA signed an agreement to cooperate on Israeli nonprofit Spacell's unmanned spacecraft, which is expected to land on the moon in early 2019. NASA will be contributing scientific technology to the project, including a laser retroreflector array and Deep Space Network support to help the vehicle with landing and communication. NASA's Lunar Reconnaissance Orbiter will also take scientific measurements of the spacecraft as it lands. Spacell and ISA will share lunar magnetic field data with NASA for its long-term archive. NASA and Spacell will later collaborate on analyzing the scientific data gathered from the mission.

Chapter 3

The U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership



The United States and Israel have developed deep strategic ties to confront common threats and ensure the Jewish state's security. This strategic relationship is a key pillar of America's Middle East security framework, and this partnership is constantly growing and expanding into new areas.

Key Points

- **Common Threats:** America and Israel face numerous shared challenges, including combating terrorism, weapons and nuclear proliferation, cyber warfare and the spread of radical Islamist ideology.
- **Mutual Benefits:** Both nations gain from a strong strategic partnership, which in part draws upon Israel's capabilities in designing advanced military, homeland security, counterterrorism and cyber-protection technologies that help the United States meet its growing security challenges.
- **Qualitative Military Edge (QME):** A core element of America's Middle East policy is to maintain Israel's QME—the ability to counter and defeat any credible conventional military threat while sustaining minimal damages and casualties. In 2008, Congress wrote America's long-standing commitment to Israel's QME into law and required the president to continually assess whether Israel's QME is being maintained.
- **A Strong Deterrent:** Israel's military strength and central geostrategic location provide a strong deterrent to regional actors opposed to the United States. American support for Israel helps deter regional conflict by making clear to potential foes that they cannot defeat the Jewish state.
- **A Beacon of Stability:** As the Middle East is swept by the most dramatic upheavals in decades, Israel is the one stable, democratic ally upon which America can consistently depend.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

Congress should work to expand the scope and depth of the U.S.-Israel relationship while always ensuring that Israel has the capabilities it needs to defend itself—by itself.

Congress should take the following actions:

- Support \$3.3 billion in security assistance to Israel and \$500 million in cooperative missile defense funding for fiscal year 2020, as called for in the 2016 U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding on security assistance;
 - Enhance Israel's QME and scrutinize the negative impacts on Israel's QME by the advanced U.S. arms sales and military cooperation with other nations in the region;
 - Continue strong funding levels for joint U.S.-Israel missile and rocket programs, including Arrow-2, Arrow-3, David's Sling and Iron Dome; and
 - Work to implement the 2014 U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership Act by developing additional mechanisms to expand the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship in mutually beneficial ways in the fields of cooperative missile defense, trade, homeland security, cybersecurity, energy, water and agriculture.
-

Close Strategic Partnership Spans Decades

The close strategic relationship between the United States and Israel originated with the two allies sharing key intelligence following Israel's defensive 1967 Six-Day War. American-Israeli cooperation ranges from frequent high-level strategic dialogues among senior political and military leaders to combined military planning and exercises, intelligence sharing and technological development. Such collaboration plays a critical role in combating extremism in the region.

Security Assistance Helps Ensure Israel's QME

The United States and Israel share mutual interests in deterring war, promoting stability and creating lasting peace. These goals are achievable only if the United States continues to help ensure Israel's QME over its neighbors. In the 45-plus years since the 1973 Yom Kippur War, U.S. annual security aid for Israel has helped prevent conflict because potential foes are deterred by the fact that they cannot defeat the Jewish state militarily. As Israel continues to confront regional turmoil, including a massive arms build-up among Arab states and Iran's expansionist aims, U.S. security assistance plays a critical role in ensuring Israel can continue to deter its foes.

Shared Challenges

The United States and Israel share many of the same threats, including the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the growth of state-sponsored terrorism and the spread of radical Islam. To combat these threats, the two states have established a complex, cost-effective network of strategic cooperative programs centered on new technologies and intelligence sharing, joint military exercises and defense-system research and development, among other initiatives. The United States has also pre-positioned weapons stockpiles in Israel for use in the event that the United States or Israel needs to respond quickly to a conflict in the region.

Israel and the United States share expertise and experience concerning best practices on how to minimize civilian casualties, particularly in urban areas. Following the 2014 conflict between Israel and Hamas, then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Martin Dempsey praised Israel for taking extraordinary measures to protect civilian lives, and he sent a U.S. delegation to Israel to study IDF methods.

Cooperation in Missile Defense Programs

Israel's enemies are developing more sophisticated and longer-range missiles. Through the annual defense appropriations bill, Congress has reinforced its commitment to Israel's safety by providing funding for jointly developed missile defense programs.



Declared operational in 2017, David's Sling provides the IDF and the U.S. military with protection against long-range artillery rockets, short- to medium-range ballistic missiles, aircraft and low-flying cruise missiles.

Iron Dome: Terrorists in Gaza have fired thousands of rockets indiscriminately into Israel. These attacks prompted the Jewish state to develop Iron Dome, which can intercept incoming short-range rockets midair. Recognizing the value of this system, the United States has appropriated close to \$1.5 billion to help Israel fund Iron Dome. In 2014, at the height of Israel's conflict with Hamas, Congress approved \$225 million in emergency supplemental funding for Iron Dome procurement. In September 2017, Iron Dome was tested in the United States, to help the U.S. Army select an interim solution for

medium- and short-range air defense. This test marked the first time the full Iron Dome system was operated outside Israel. The following month, the Israeli military declared initial operational capability of a sea-based version of the Iron Dome, following successful live-fire testing.

David's Sling: David's Sling is designed to fill the gap between Israel's short-range Iron Dome and higher-altitude Arrow ballistic missile interceptor. Declared operational in 2017, the system provides the IDF and the U.S. military with protection against long-range artillery rockets, short- to medium-range ballistic missiles, aircraft and low-flying cruise missiles. Jointly developed by Israel's Rafael Advanced Defense Systems and U.S. defense company Raytheon, David's Sling uses Raytheon's Stunner missile for interception, and each launcher can hold up to 16 missiles.

In July 2018, the IDF fired David's Sling to intercept two large surface-to-surface SS-21 Tochka

ballistic missiles from Syria. By deploying David's Sling, Israel has used its entire multi-layered missile defense shield. David's Sling system components are manufactured in nearly 30 states across America.

The United States and Israel are increasing their serial co-production of David's Sling as Israel steps up its procurement of the system. For Fiscal Year 2019, Congress appropriated a total of \$137 million for David's Sling research and development to conduct testing and improve the system, as well as \$50 million in procurement funding to continue joint production of interceptors, radars and launchers.

Arrow: The Arrow program is the centerpiece of the U.S.-Israeli cooperative defense relationship. Jointly developed by the two allies, Arrow-2 is among the world's most sophisticated missile shields. Operational since 2000, Arrow-2 has consistently proven that one missile can shoot down another at high altitudes and supersonic speeds. Arrow-3, an upper-tier, exo-atmospheric defense system, is designed to counter long-range conventional and unconventional strategic threats to Israel. In January 2017, Israel declared Arrow-3 operational. Later that year, the Israel Missile Defense Organization announced initial steps toward a new missile defense system—potentially to be called Arrow-4—which could defend against more sophisticated, future threats, particularly from Iran.

Joint Anti-Tunneling Collaboration

During the 2014 conflict between Israel and Hamas, the Palestinian terrorist group used underground tunnels to attack Israel's civilian population. Today, Hamas is rebuilding and expanding its tunnel infrastructure in Gaza, and Hezbollah is replicating this tactic on Israel's northern border. The United States faces similar threats on the Korean Peninsula, the U.S.-Mexico border and in various locations in the Middle East.

Since 2015, Congress has appropriated \$177.5 million to support joint research, development and test activities between the United States and Israel to better detect and destroy these tunnels and to help both nations defend against future threats. The program promotes cooperation and cost-sharing between Washington and Jerusalem on this key challenge.

Israel's "steel dome" technology has been used numerous times to detect and destroy terror tunnels from the Gaza Strip. Based on Israel's Iron Dome, the new approach is a multilayered system of innovative technologies, tactics and procedures designed to stop Hamas and other Gaza-based terror organizations from attacking the Jewish state from underground. In January 2018, the technology detected and destroyed a tunnel that spanned nearly a kilometer within southern Gaza, crossed approximately 200 meters under Israel's border and extended about 400 meters into neighboring Egypt.



In 2016, Congress approved \$40 million to support a joint U.S.-Israel research and development initiative to better detect and destroy terror tunnels.

U.S.-Israel Counter-Drone Program

In 2018, Congress for the first time supported U.S.-Israel cooperation in countering unmanned aerial systems. This cooperation will fill capability gaps in American and Israeli security needs. It builds on previous successful programs that the U.S. and Israel have engaged in, such as missile defense and anti-tunnel cooperation.

Military Exercises

Juniper Cobra: A centerpiece of U.S.-Israeli military cooperation, the biannual Juniper Cobra joint exercise focuses on practicing cooperative tactics to counter the growing threat from ballistic missiles and long-range rockets.

Southern Strike: Israeli pilots work side by side with the U.S. Air Force, Army and Navy during this annual airlift drill to perform important transport and logistical missions. Israel is the only foreign nation to partake in this cross-service exercise.

Blue Flag: The Israel Air Force actively participates in these American-hosted annual multinational exercises to enhance combat skills and interoperability.



In March 2018, more than 2,500 U.S. troops participated in the ninth biennial Juniper Cobra military exercise with the IDF.

Red Flag: Since 2016, the Israel Air Force (IAF) has participated in Red Flag aerial combat simulations in Nevada and Alaska.

Saving American Lives on the Battlefield

Israel has developed dramatic new technologies that play a key role in saving U.S. lives during military conflicts.

F-35 Helmet: An Israeli defense contractor partnered with an American firm to produce the Helmet Mounted Display System (HMDS) for F-35 fighter pilots. The helmet displays flight and weapons data for the pilot, providing full situational awareness and the ability to rotate missiles' seekers by turning one's head. The helmet enhances the pilot's survivability during air-to-air engagements.

Trophy: Designed to detect and neutralize incoming projectiles, Israel's Trophy active-protection system (APS) has been installed on its Merkava tanks since 2009. Developed by Israel's Rafael Advanced Defense Systems and Israel Aerospace Industries' Elta Group, Trophy is the only fully operational and combat-proven APS in the world. In June 2018, the U.S. Army awarded a contract worth \$193 million to purchase Trophy. The cutting-edge technology will be used to shield the U.S. Army's M1 Abrams tanks from incoming projectiles by shooting them down in midair. The U.S. Army plans to equip 261 of its Abrams tanks with the Israeli-made Trophy.

Listening Pod: Attached to fighter aircraft, the Israeli-developed Listening Pod identifies targets with laser precision from high altitudes, reducing danger to the pilot and collateral damage on the ground.

Distance Door-Breaching System: U.S. forces must often apprehend enemy combatants and terrorists who are holed up in urban safe houses. Breaching the doors of these houses can be a deadly proposition when troops come face to face with armed insurgents. The Israeli SIMON door-breaching system can blast down steel or wooden doors from a distance of up to 130 feet away.

Advanced Detection of Explosives: Remote-controlled explosive devices have caused thousands of U.S. casualties in recent years. The U.S. military uses various Israeli technologies that can detect remote-controlled explosive devices and other weapons.

Emergency Bandage: Carried in every U.S. soldier's first-aid kit, this Israeli-designed bandage stems blood loss, prevents infection and allows non-medically trained soldiers to stabilize the wounded. Also used by U.S. civilian paramedics, this bandage was instrumental in saving the life of former congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords and several others in the aftermath of a 2011 shooting in Tucson, Arizona.

The United States and Israel Strengthen Homeland Security Cooperation

Since Sept. 11, 2001, the United States and Israel have intensified homeland security cooperation. U.S. policymakers, law-enforcement officers and first responders have sought to harness Israel's hard-earned counterterrorism and homeland security technical expertise and experience to keep Americans as safe as possible.

Aviation Security: In May 2010, Israel signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the U.S. Transportation Security Administration (TSA) to share information and techniques on airport security, including the use of behavioral screening. Cooperation was further expanded in 2014, when the United States, Israel and Canada conducted an unprecedented joint aviation drill to bolster response procedures against aerial terror attacks.

Border and Port Security: Israel shares its vast experience and advanced technologies to help protect U.S. borders. U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) personnel operate Israeli-designed unmanned aerial reconnaissance vehicles (UAVs), which have proven an effective force in efforts to stem the flow of potential terrorists, drug smugglers and other malign actors across the border.

Police and First Responders: Israel has trained elite American law enforcement agencies in advanced security procedures ranging from combating terrorism to responding to mass-casualty emergencies. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) also uses Israeli innovations to protect America's first responders.

Cybersecurity: In 2008, the United States and Israel signed an agreement to increase science and technology cooperation in an effort to combat a broad range of new global threats. In the years since, Israel's National Cyber Bureau, together with its entrepreneurial private sector, has produced world-leading cybertechnologies currently employed in the United States. DHS works with its Israeli counterparts to integrate their innovative approaches into U.S. cyber test beds—facilities for testing critical infrastructure for cyber responsiveness. In June 2016, the United States and Israel signed a joint declaration to increase cybersecurity cooperation between the two nations. With this agreement, Israel became one of the first countries to join DHS's Automated Indicator Sharing (AIS) initiative, a program designed to automate information sharing for cyberthreats between governments and the private sector.

Emerging Fields Offer New Opportunities to Expand the U.S.-Israel Strategic Relationship

Energy: The United States and Israel are working together in an unprecedented fashion on energy security and clean technology. The governments, along with their respective business and academic sectors, are partnering to promote new energy solutions to meet long-term goals. The energy arm of the U.S.-Israel Binational Industrial Research and Development Foundation (BIRD), the U.S. Department of Energy and Israel's Ministry of National Infrastructure, Energy and Water Resources (MIEW) jointly fund the research and development of new energy technologies, including renewables, alternative fuels, natural gas, water and energy-efficiency solutions.

Research and Development: In June 2018, the U.S. Department of Energy and Israeli Ministry of Energy formally agreed to establish the U.S.-Israel Center of Excellence in Energy, Engineering and Water Technology, ushering in a new era of cooperative energy research and development. U.S. Secretary of Energy Rick Perry and Israeli Minister of Energy Yuval Steinitz signed the agreement at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C.

The agreement finalized a multiyear effort to establish the U.S.-Israel Center of Excellence, which was originally authorized by the U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership Act of 2014. The center will foster research and development in a wide range of energy technologies including fossil energy, energy cybersecurity, water and energy storage. Its establishment represents a significant achievement for the U.S.-Israel relationship as well as an important achievement in national security by securing funding for research in these critical industries.



Israel is a world leader in water management technologies, including desalination.

Natural Gas: Israeli and American companies are partnering in this key arena, which strengthens the geopolitical positions of both the United States and Israel. The discovery of large offshore gas reserves in the eastern Mediterranean Sea presents Israel with an opportunity to take a more significant energy role in the region. Together, the United States and Israel are working to harness the findings as a tool for regional cooperation, demonstrated by prospective trade with Egypt, Jordan, the Palestinian territories and Cyprus. Referred to as the “energy triangle,” Israel, Greece and Cyprus have formed ties in an effort to strengthen trilateral opportunities in the energy sphere. The countries are exploring new ways to use the gas fields Tamar, Leviathan and Aphrodite, which were discovered in 2009, 2010 and 2011, respectively. In May 2018, the leaders of Cyprus, Israel and Greece agreed to move forward on a planned pipeline that would supply eastern Mediterranean natural gas



The discovery of large offshore gas reserves in the eastern Mediterranean Sea presents Israel with an opportunity to take a more significant energy role in the region.

to Europe. Additionally, in February 2018, Israel's Delek Drilling and Houston's Noble Energy announced a deal to export \$15 billion worth of Israeli gas to Egypt's Dolphinus Holdings Ltd.

Solar: As a world leader in solar energy, Israel's expertise has been leveraged to improve sustainability around the world, including in the United States. In California's Mojave Desert, an Israeli-based subsidiary of BrightSource Energy constructed the world's largest

solar thermal power plant, generating electricity for more than 140,000 homes in California. In addition, Israeli solar company Energiya Global recently completed a 22.5-megawatt solar plant in southeastern Georgia, the first utility-scale solar project in the region. The projects will create jobs, generate power to homes and reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Energiya Global has also partnered with the U.S. government through the Department of Energy's "Beyond the Grid" initiative to expand energy access across sub-Saharan Africa.

Water: Israel is a global leader in an array of water management technologies, including desalination, brackish water treatment, reuse and recycling, and drip irrigation. Israel currently recycles nearly 90 percent of its water resources, setting the global gold standard, and it aims to increase that figure to 95 percent by 2020. Israel also now generates approximately 40 percent of its entire water supply through desalination. Israel has signed agreements with several U.S. states for joint research and development in a wide spectrum of technological areas, particularly water conservation. Israel was also active in West Virginia's efforts to recover from the devastating 2014 Elk River chemical spill.

Trade: The United States and Israel both significantly benefit from their wide-ranging economic and technological partnership. In 1985, Israel became the first country to sign a free-trade agreement with the United States. In the first decade of the agreement, trade between the two countries tripled from \$3.9 billion to \$12.4 billion per year. By 2014, bilateral trade more than tripled again, reaching \$38 billion per year. Numerous binational programs allow American companies and universities to enhance collaboration with Israel's leading businesses and institutions. In addition, in recognition of the value of enhanced cooperation, more than a dozen states have signed research-and-development agreements with the Jewish state, including Massachusetts, Michigan and California.

Chapter 4

The Iranian Threat



Iran—the world’s leading state sponsor of terrorism—remains Israel’s and America’s greatest long-term threat in the Middle East. The United States must ensure that Iran can never obtain a nuclear weapons capability, confront Iran’s regional aggression and international terrorism, and condemn Iran’s human rights abuses.

Key Points

- **Prevent Iran from Acquiring a Nuclear Weapons Capability:** A nuclear Iran would pose a direct danger to American interests and an existential threat to Israel. The United States must steadfastly maintain its policy of preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapons capability.
- **Thwart Iranian Terrorism:** Iran remains the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism and seeks to export its radical, revolutionary ideology by funding, training and equipping terrorist proxies, including Hezbollah, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.
- **Contain and Roll Back Iranian Hegemony:** Iran seeks to purge Western influence from the Middle East and is attempting to dominate the governments of Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Yemen. It has also repeatedly called for Israel's destruction and backed insurgencies and plots designed to undermine U.S. allies.
- **Stand with Israel:** The United States must enhance its support for Israel and ensure that it is equipped to contend with an emboldened Iran and its proxies.
- **Support Human Rights:** The United States should condemn Iran's human rights abuses and stand with the Iranian people opposed to the brutal theocratic regime.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

For more than two decades, Congress has played a central role in shaping U.S. policy toward Iran. Congress should continue to fulfill its historic role in foreign policy by taking the following actions:

- Utilize economic, diplomatic and political pressure to deter Iran's malign nuclear-related and regional activities;
 - Ensure strict enforcement of sanctions and consider new measures to address Iran's illicit actions and gaps in American sanctions;
 - Back efforts to prevent Iran from establishing a permanent military presence in Syria;
 - Fully fund security assistance to Israel and cooperative missile defense programs to ensure Israel has the means to defend itself from Iran and its proxies;
 - Stand by the Iranian people while targeting the regime's systematic human rights abuses; and
 - Continue to send a strong message that the U.S. is prepared to use any means necessary to prevent an Iranian nuclear weapons capability.
-

Iran's Drive for a Nuclear Weapons Capability

For more than two decades, Iran has flouted its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and sought a nuclear weapons capability to further its hegemonic aims.

Recognizing the destructive potential of nuclear weapons in the hands of the radical regime in Tehran, U.S. policy has been predicated on preventing Iran from attaining this capability.

On May 8, 2018, the Trump administration announced the U.S. withdrawal from the 2015 nuclear deal between Iran and the P5+1 (the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council plus Germany)—formally known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). The JCPOA retreated from prior demands—backed by large majorities in Congress—to dismantle significant elements of Iran's nuclear infrastructure so that it has no path to a nuclear weapons capability. In acceding to the JCPOA, Iran accepted temporary constraints on its nuclear program in exchange for permanent sanctions relief.

A New U.S. Approach to Iran

The United States is now exerting maximum pressure on Tehran in an effort to achieve a new deal ending all facets of Iran's illicit behavior—not just its nuclear weapons ambitions. In exchange for such a deal, the United States is prepared to normalize relations with Iran and end sanctions—including primary U.S. sanctions that have prevented American companies from doing virtually all business with Iran.

Following its decision to leave the JCPOA, the Trump administration reimposed virtually all previously lifted sanctions on Iran. These sanctions are designed to impose maximum economic pressure on Tehran in order to compel the regime to change its behavior.

The reimposition of U.S. sanctions on Iran has already had a significant impact on Tehran's economy. Iranian oil exports have decreased significantly, while the rial, Iran's currency, lost more than half of its value between January and September of 2018. Due to the threat of U.S. sanctions, major companies from around the world have ceased operations with Iran.

Iran Foments Regional Instability

Since its founding in 1979, the Islamic Republic of Iran has sought to export its revolutionary presence throughout the Middle East in a bid to propagate radical Shia Islamism, restore ancient Persia's historical domination of the region and supplant American influence in the Middle East. Iran's quest for regional dominance has severely destabilized the Middle East,



Through the IRGC and its elite Quds Force, Iran continues to destabilize the region by funding and training Shiite militias.

inflaming sectarian tensions, tearing at the fabric of several nation-states and empowering a variety of extremist non-state actors.

Iran—through its Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) and the IRGC's subsidiary foreign expeditionary arm, the Quds Force (IRGC-QF)—foments unrest throughout the region by funding and training Shiite militias and terrorist proxies.

Iran threatens Israel on several of its borders as well as U.S. interests in the Middle East broadly. Iran has backed insurgencies in Iraq, Afghanistan, Bahrain, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Yemen aimed at dominating its neighbors, attaining regional primacy and exporting its Islamic Revolution.

Syria: Iran has significantly exacerbated the Syrian crisis, creating a chaotic maelstrom on Israel's northern frontier. Iran has consistently provided Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad with arms, funds and personnel. The IRGC-QF, Hezbollah and Iranian backed Shia militias have contributed tens of thousands of soldiers to fight on behalf of the Assad regime. Financially, Iran has contributed an estimated \$20 billion propping up President Assad.

Iran has used the civil war to entrench itself in Syria, including by building military installations and weapons-production facilities with which it can threaten Israel. Iran has attempted to establish a land bridge from Tehran to Israel's northern border with Syria and Lebanon via Iraq and Syria. The land bridge would facilitate the transport of advanced weapons and fighters

that could be used in a future conflict against the Jewish state. In July 2018, Syrian forces, with support from Iranian-backed militias, retook control of the Syrian Golan Heights on Israel's northern border.

Israel has vowed that it will prevent Iran from establishing a permanent military presence in Syria and opening a new front on Israel's northern border. In February 2018, Iran launched an armed drone into Israel—marking the first time Iran has ever directly attacked the Jewish state. In May 2018, Iran also fired 32 rockets toward Israel.

West Bank and Gaza: Iran backs the most recalcitrant factions of Palestinian society, undermining efforts toward a peaceable resolution. Iran has worked against international efforts to isolate the terrorist organization Hamas, providing it with invaluable financial assistance, weaponry and advanced military training. This support was crucial to Hamas' 2007 takeover of the Gaza Strip and has perpetuated the split in Palestinian politics, which stands as an obstacle to the peace process.

Iran has enhanced Hamas' rocket program by helping the group improve the accuracy and range of its arsenal, in addition to providing approximately \$70 million to \$100 million annually. Tehran also provided its expertise to assist Hamas' construction of complex attack tunnels. Although Iran's ties with Hamas have been strained in recent years due to the Syrian conflict,

Iran has reportedly helped Hamas replenish its missile stocks and revamp its terror tunnel network since the 2014 Operation Protective Edge between Israel and the terrorist organization.



As the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism, Iran continues to back its terror proxies throughout the Middle East, including Hamas and Hezbollah.

In Gaza, Iran also supports Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), a terrorist organization that receives military training directly from Tehran and approximately \$30 million in annual funding, which it uses to carry out terrorist attacks against Israelis.

Lebanon: In Lebanon, Hezbollah—which is largely subservient to Iran—has created a state within a state, preventing the Lebanese government and military from exercising full sovereignty. In Lebanon's 2018 elections, Hezbollah and its allies received more than half the seats in parliament, effectively entrenching Iranian control over Lebanese politics. Iran's annual support for Hezbollah has reportedly increased from \$200 million in 2012 to \$800 million in 2017.

Hezbollah's entry into Syria's civil war served Iranian, not Lebanese, interests and caused the conflict to frequently spill across the border. The Lebanese terrorist group has gained immense battlefield experience in Syria, making it a far more formidable foe in any future conflict with Israel.

Iraq and Yemen: In Iraq, Iran's support for Shiite militias contributed to the deaths of hundreds of U.S. military personnel and now serves as a key stumbling block to internal Iraqi political reconciliation. Iran's meddling has exacerbated Iraq's sectarian tensions and contributed to the empowerment of the Islamic State. In September 2018, Iranian proxies in Iraq attacked the U.S. Consulate in Basra.

Additionally, Iran has sent advanced weapons and funds to the Houthi militias that are attempting to overthrow the government in Yemen, embroiling the country in a deadly civil war and humanitarian crisis.

Arms Transfers: Despite a U.N. Security Council prohibition on Iranian arms transfers, Tehran has funneled weaponry into conflict zones throughout the Middle East. It has provided massive transfers of rockets and missiles to Hezbollah in Lebanon, helping the group amass an arsenal of roughly 150,000 rockets and missiles. The sophistication and accuracy of Hezbollah's rockets have improved dramatically in recent years, and all of Israel is now within the range of these rockets. In any future conflict, Hezbollah could potentially launch more than 1,000 rockets a day into Israel, challenging Israel's missile defense systems.

In addition to the Houthi rebels in Yemen, illicit Iranian weapons transfers have been interdicted by U.S. allies Kuwait and Bahrain, which uncovered Iranian-backed arms smuggling rings aimed at undermining their governments. In December 2017, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Nikki Haley exhibited evidence of Iran's illegal arms exports, including the remnants of an Iranian missile

fired at Riyadh's international airport from Yemen—a direct violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2216, which prohibited arms exports to Yemen.

Iranian Missiles and Provocations Against Americans

On Sept. 22, 2017, Iran paraded its new Khorramshahr ballistic missiles through Tehran. Once perfected, these missiles will have a greater payload capacity than previous Iranian missiles. The Khorramshahr reportedly will be able to carry multiple warheads to a range of 1,200 miles—well within striking distance of U.S. troops and allies, including Israel.

Iran has test-fired as many as 23 ballistic missiles since the 2015 announcement of the JCPOA. U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 specifically called on Iran to cease all such launches and prohibits any assistance to Iran's ballistic missile program. In March 2016, Iran test-fired two ballistic missiles, one of which had the phrase "Israel must be wiped off the Earth" written on it.

For years, Iran's military has repeatedly taken a range of provocative actions against Americans in international waters, including charging American ships at close range as well as the seizure of two naval vessels and 10 U.S. sailors in January 2016. Iran routinely threatens to close the Strait of Hormuz, the crucial waterway that transports a third of all oil traded by sea worldwide.



Demonstrators in Tehran burn U.S. and Israeli flags during a May 2018 rally marking the anniversary of the 1979 seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

A Credible Military Threat

The United States has made it clear that the use of military force is a possibility if all other options fail to compel Iran to abandon its nuclear drive. In May 2013, a Senate resolution, which passed by a resounding vote of 99-0, stated that the prevention of an Iranian nuclear weapon remains U.S. policy and that

America will stand by Israel should it need to use force to protect itself against Iran. Iran is emboldened in its bad actions when the United States does not pose a credible threat. Such deterrence is vital to supplement all diplomatic efforts to compel Iran to end its bad behavior.

Iran's Human Rights Abuses

Iran's brutal theocratic government engages in systemic human rights abuses against its own people in an effort to preserve its revolutionary ethos. The supreme leader retains final veto authority over all government decisions and has empowered the IRGC—a U.S.-designated terrorist organization—and IRGC-affiliated politicians to manage many aspects of Iran's domestic and foreign policy, as well as much of its economy.

Executions have surged under President Hassan Rouhani, and Iran boasts the highest per-capita execution rate in the world. Iran regularly executes individuals accused of crimes not considered capital offenses by international norms, including drug trafficking, apostasy and sodomy. Notably, Iran has undertaken a concerted campaign of detaining citizens with dual nationalities in the past year, typically denying them due process.

The Iranian regime has a profound disregard for human rights: Sunni and Sufi Muslims, Christians and Bahais face daily persecution; homosexuality is punishable by death; political elections are fraudulent; media censorship is widespread and journalists—both domestic and foreign—are regularly arrested and held without trial or charge.

Claiming to protect the “fundamental principles of Islam,” the Iranian regime restricts freedoms of speech and press, creating a vast system of censorship and self-censorship. The regime suppresses all criticism of Islamic rule and routinely imprisons journalists who dare to defy its dictates.

While Iran recognizes other forms of Islam, as well as Judaism and Christianity, the regime severely restricts freedom of religion. Conversion from Islam is punishable by life in prison or death. In particular, the Iranian regime targets members of the Bahai faith and frequently sentences its leaders to decades-long imprisonment.

Iranians Protest Against the Regime

On Dec. 28, 2017, Iranian citizens launched a wave of protests demanding political and economic reforms from their government. These protests continued throughout 2018 in more than 80 cities nationwide. Shopkeepers at the Grand Bazaar in Tehran have staged protests and workers throughout the country have held strikes. Protestors have gone beyond critiquing Iranian leadership, demanding that their government support the Iranian people rather than fueling terrorism throughout the Middle East and shouting slogans such as “death to Palestine.”



Congress must stand with the Iranian people against the abuses of the regime and should pursue initiatives to support America's Middle Eastern allies who confront Iranian threats on a daily basis. The United States must retain and expand existing sanctions related to Iran's human rights abuses.

Iranian citizens have launched a wave of protests against the regime's corruption and foreign interventions in Gaza, Syria and Lebanon.

Chapter 5

The Peace Process



AIPAC strongly supports a negotiated two-state solution—a Jewish state of Israel living in peace and security side by side with a demilitarized Palestinian state—as the best path to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Time and again, the Jewish state has demonstrated its willingness to make tough sacrifices for peace, and it remains fully committed to reaching a just and lasting solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Key Points

- **Support a Two-State Solution:** A directly negotiated two-state solution that definitively ends all claims is the clear path to resolving this conflict.
- **Encourage Direct Bilateral Talks:** Only direct talks between the parties can lead to a just and lasting peace. Unilateral measures are counterproductive and undermine efforts to negotiate peace. Palestinian attempts to pressure Israel and impose terms through international organizations such as the United Nations constitute harmful diversions from direct negotiations with Israel and should be opposed.
- **End Incitement to Violence:** Palestinian leaders must refrain from all forms of incitement to violence. The Palestinian Authority (PA) must end its longstanding and abhorrent practice of incentivizing terrorism by paying salaries to terrorists and their families.
- **Prevent the Strengthening of Hamas:** While supporting food and medical assistance, reconstruction and humanitarian efforts in Gaza must be strictly scrutinized to guard against support to Hamas and other terrorist groups. The United States should also support efforts to enable the PA to reassert control in Gaza.
- **Encourage Arab States to Play a Positive Role:** The Arab states have the ability to play a constructive role by taking concrete steps to support the peace process and normalize ties with Israel.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

Congress should support efforts to reach a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians by taking the following actions:

- Support Israel's right to self-defense against Palestinian terrorist attacks. To achieve peace, terrorist groups must understand that violence will never achieve their goals;
 - Back Palestinian leaders committed to peace with Israel and opposed to violence. Congress must insist that Palestinian leaders refrain from all incitement and work to build a culture of tolerance;
 - Maintain and strengthen current conditions on assistance to the Palestinians, including that the PA demonstrate its commitment to non-violence, stop rewarding terrorists and their families, and refuse to cooperate with terrorist organizations like Hamas;
 - Oppose unilateral Palestinian actions and efforts to bypass direct talks and pressure Israel in the international arena, including at the United Nations and the International Criminal Court (ICC);
 - Continue efforts to sanction and marginalize Hamas and those providing the group with support, until it meets three basic conditions: recognize Israel, renounce violence and accept previous Israeli-Palestinian agreements; and
 - Encourage Arab nations to play a constructive and supporting role. Congress should encourage Arab states to support efforts for a two-state solution and normalize relations with Israel.
-

A History of Pursuing Peace

Even before Israel's founding in 1948, the Jewish community in then-British Mandatory Palestine sought peace with its Arab neighbors. Since then, Israel has repeatedly demonstrated its willingness to make serious concessions for peace, such as withdrawing from land and forcibly removing citizens, in order to resolve the conflict.

In 1947, the United Nations decided to divide the British Mandate for Palestine into two states: one Jewish and one Arab. The Jewish community in Palestine accepted the plan; the Arabs rejected it.

Declaring independence, David Ben-Gurion—Israel's first prime minister—said that Israel would “extend the hand of peace to all its neighbors” and grant “full and equal citizenship and due representation” for the non-Jewish population. In response, the armies of five Arab states invaded the Jewish state.

While Israel emerged from the war victorious, the Jordanian army managed to seize and hold the eastern portion of Jerusalem, including the Old City—severely restricting Jews from accessing their holy sites for the first time in over a millennium. During the 1967 Six-Day



In 1979, Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty—the first between the Jewish state and an Arab country.

War—when Egypt, Jordan and several other Arab countries planned to destroy Israel—Jerusalem was reunited under Israeli control. The Jewish state immediately abolished the restrictions on access to the city that Jordan had imposed, allowing people from all faiths to worship at their holy places; this freedom remains in place to this day. Days after successfully defending itself in the Six-Day War, Israel offered to return captured territories in exchange for peace treaties. The Arab states rejected the offer, refusing to accept a Jewish state in any borders.

Nevertheless, since then, Israel has continued to pursue peace, leading at times to dramatic results.

Israel Reaches Peace with Egypt

In 1978, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin signed the Camp David Accords, laying the groundwork for Egyptian-Israeli peace after three decades of conflict. In 1979, Egypt and Israel signed a formal peace treaty—the first between Israel and an Arab country. Under the treaty moderated by U.S. President Jimmy Carter, Israel agreed to return the entire Sinai Peninsula (an area almost three times Israel's size).

Israel Signs Oslo Agreement

In 1993, Israel and the Palestinians signed the Oslo accords creating the Palestinian Authority. Under the accords, the Palestinians gained authority over Gaza and parts of the West Bank. The agreement allowed Palestinians to govern themselves for the first time. The accord also started a process to work toward a permanent peace agreement.

Israel Establishes Peace with Jordan

In 1994, Jordan became the second Arab country to recognize Israel when it signed a comprehensive peace agreement that ended nearly five decades of conflict. Signed by Jordan's King Hussein and Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the peace accord marked the onset of a new era of economic, cultural and political dialogue and cooperation between the two countries.

Israel Makes Historic Offer for Peace

In 2000, Israel agreed to President Bill Clinton's proposals for peace between Israel and the Palestinians: Israel would cede all of the Gaza Strip, 96 percent of the West Bank and additional territory from within pre-1967 Israel, recognize an independent Palestinian state and cede parts of eastern Jerusalem to serve as the Palestinian capital. Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat rejected the offer and launched the worst wave of terrorism in Israel's history, known as the Second Intifada.

Israel Removes All Soldiers, Citizens from Gaza

With U.S. support, Israel took a historic step in 2005 and unilaterally withdrew from Gaza and parts of the West Bank, providing the Palestinians with an unprecedented chance to prove their intention to fight terrorism and govern effectively.

Israel Makes an Even More Far-Reaching Offer to Palestinians

In 2008, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert offered PA President Mahmoud Abbas an even more generous offer to create a Palestinian state, including a capital in East Jerusalem. Abbas never responded to the offer. In a subsequent TV interview, Abbas admitted that he “rejected [the offer] out of hand.”

Peace Talks Collapse

In July 2013, Secretary of State John Kerry helped initiate a round of direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. As talks began, Israel agreed to the painful step of releasing 104 Palestinian prisoners, many of whom had murdered Israelis. According to Martin Indyk, the U.S. special envoy to these talks, PA President Mahmoud Abbas “checked out” more than two months before an initial negotiating deadline. The peace talks conclusively dissolved in 2014 when the Palestinian political party Fatah signed a unity deal with the terrorist organization Hamas.

After refusing to extend peace talks, Abbas chose to bypass Oslo-mandated negotiations and internationalize the conflict. He sought to achieve full recognition of a Palestinian state by turning to international institutions and sought full-state status as a member of dozens of organizations and treaties.

Since the Palestinians left peace talks, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has repeatedly stated his desire to achieve peace and negotiate with President Abbas. During his speech at the 2018 United Nations General Assembly, Prime Minister Netanyahu reiterated his support for a two-state solution with Israel living peacefully with a demilitarized Palestinian state.

However, instead of resuming negotiations, Abbas has responded by refusing to meet with Israeli or American negotiators and by threatening to abrogate previous peace agreements with Israel. In 2018, PA President Mahmoud Abbas renounced U.S. peace efforts and attacked the legitimacy of the Jewish state.

In an address to the PLO Central Council in January 2018, Abbas said the council is “required to reexamine the agreements between the PLO and the Israeli government.” He claimed that conspiracies to settle the Jews in the Middle East had begun in the 17th century with Oliver Cromwell, and continued throughout the centuries, and that the Zionist movement “constitutes a colonialist enterprise that has nothing to do with Judaism.”

Jerusalem

Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. It is Israel’s largest city and a dynamic and multicultural metropolis, which has served as the Jewish people’s historic and spiritual capital for 3,000 years. Jews, Christians and Muslims are able to safely pray and live in the city.

Following decades of bipartisan congressional support, in May 2018, the United States moved its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The move followed President Donald Trump’s December 2017 recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital.

Recognition that Jerusalem is Israel’s capital, and moving the U.S. embassy there, sends a strong message: America will not allow the Palestinians to hold U.S. policy hostage to their unwillingness to resume negotiations with Israel. In the U.S. view, the American decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel’s capital does not preclude negotiations on the future of Jerusalem and its boundaries.



In May 2018, the United States moved its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

UNRWA

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) was established in 1949 to provide assistance to Palestinian refugees in the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. However, UNRWA's inefficiencies, resistance to reform and misguided definition of refugees have helped protract the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Rather than working to resettle refugees, UNRWA sustains them in unfortunate conditions while holding out the promise that they will eventually be able to return to Israel—an unrealistic outcome. In contrast with international standards, UNRWA permits refugee status to be transmitted to descendants and defines refugees to include those who have obtained citizenship in other countries. UNRWA has also repeatedly demonstrated its inability to prevent terrorist organizations like Hamas from operating in its facilities or placing their personnel on its payroll.

In August 2018, the United States ended funding to UNRWA and announced it would look for new models and approaches to more effectively provide assistance. Congress should support efforts to find alternative mechanisms to UNRWA that can effectively and appropriately deliver humanitarian aid to the Palestinians.



Israel has continued to provide humanitarian assistance to Gaza on a regular basis.

Five Guidelines for Promoting a Successful Peace Process

The United States is the only potential mediator trusted enough by Israel to facilitate Israeli-Palestinian peace talks that could lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories living side by side with Israel. To further the chances for peace, the United States should maintain its commitment to the five principles that guided previous successful negotiations:

1) *The United States and Israel Must Work Together:* The chief guiding principle is that the United States and Israel must always work together, even if they are not in full agreement on every issue. The more Israel completely trusts American negotiators, the more flexible it can be in negotiations. Knowing that it has the backing of the United States builds confidence for Israel to take risks for peace. Efforts to circumvent Israel's decisions or pressure the state on issues relating to its security are destined to backfire. Disagreements should be handled privately, not in public.

2) *Direct Talks—Not Imposed Solutions—Offer the Key to Success:* An enduring solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must arise from the parties themselves and cannot be imposed by the United States or any other outside parties or organizations. A deal can work only if both parties enter into it willingly, feel vested in it, and intend to implement it. Without buy-in from the two parties and their publics, no accord will be viable. While the United Nations played a crucial role in the creation of Israel in 1948, the U.N.'s history since has been marked by persistent antagonism toward the Jewish state. The United States must continue to stand with its ally Israel against this biased treatment at the U.N., and encourage Palestinian leaders to stop internationalizing the conflict and to instead pursue direct negotiations.

3) *The U.S.-Israel Relationship Transcends the Peace Process:* Beyond the peace process, the United States and Israel have a deep alliance, based on common values, which benefits both countries. The two allies share intelligence, cooperate extensively on defense measures and work to counter the mutual threats of terrorism and proliferation. Irrespective of the daily ups and downs of the peace process, it is critical that this vital, mutually beneficial cooperation be maintained.

4) *Israeli Security Must Be Ensured:* The United States must continue to promote the need for Israel to maintain secure, recognized and defensible borders. Negotiations must also be premised on the belief that a final-status agreement between Israel and a Palestinian state would entail the end of all claims between the parties.

5) *End Palestinian Incitement:* Palestinian violence against Israelis is a regrettable and avoidable phenomenon that is exacerbated by incitement coming from PA leadership. Long-term peace requires an environment conducive to cooperation and compromise. The

United States must hold the Palestinians responsible for violence, incitement and support for terrorism. The Palestinian leadership must stop incentivizing violence through payments to terrorists and their families.

Hamas Is an Obstacle to Peace

Hamas is an Islamist, Iranian-backed terrorist organization dedicated to the destruction of Israel. Designated by the United States as a terrorist group in 1995, Hamas has killed more than 500 civilians—including two-dozen Americans—in suicide bombings and other attacks.

In 2007, Hamas instigated a violent coup to take control of Gaza from the PA. The international community has insisted that Hamas meet three basic requirements: recognize Israel, renounce violence and accept previous Israeli-Palestinian agreements.

Hamas instigated major conflicts against Israel in 2006, 2008, 2012 and 2014. In 2018, Hamas escalated its violent activity against Israel, nearly provoking another war. From May to November 2018, the terrorist group fired more than 1,000 rockets and missiles from Gaza at the Jewish state with the purpose of killing, maiming and terrorizing Israeli civilians, including the largest-ever rocket attack on Israel. Six million Israelis are now within range of an estimated 20,000 Hamas rockets.



In 2018, Hamas escalated its violence by launching more than 1,000 rockets and mortars toward the Jewish state and instigating violent riots along the border with Israel.

Hamas is also continuing to invest in its complex network of terror tunnels, which it has used to attack and kidnap Israeli soldiers and civilians on multiple occasions. In 2017 and 2018, the IDF identified and destroyed nearly 20 terror tunnels built by Hamas. Also in 2018, Hamas began launching incendiary kites and balloons into Israel, which destroyed some 8,000 acres of Israeli farms, parks and forests.

As part of its terror strategy, Hamas routinely hides behind human shields and amidst civilian infrastructure. Rockets are routinely launched from dense urban areas and tunnels are located under homes, schools and mosques. Hamas continues to make clear its primary goal is not a better life for the people of Gaza, but the destruction of Israel.

Despite ongoing violence and misappropriation of humanitarian aid, Israel continues to take concrete steps to improve Palestinian lives in Gaza, including projects to improve water, sanitation, electricity, communications and more. Israel continues to provide Gazans with thousands of tons of humanitarian aid. The United States should continue to support Israel and press Hamas to disarm and end the use of human shields.

Chapter 6

Security Assistance and Foreign Aid



U.S. security assistance to Israel via the annual foreign aid bill is the most tangible manifestation of American support for the Jewish state, especially during a time of tremendous turmoil in the Middle East. Foreign aid helps advance vital U.S. national security interests, promote American values and develop foreign markets that serve to create jobs at home.

Key Points

- **Strengthen Our Ally:** U.S. assistance to Israel is critical to keep our ally strong and secure. Congress must appropriate funds for annual security assistance in order to provide the funding levels set out in the new 10-year U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on security assistance.
- **Increased Challenges:** Israel faces an unprecedented magnitude and variety of threats stemming from the growing instability and chaos gripping the Middle East. These challenges have required a significant increase in Israeli defense expenditures.
- **Maintaining Qualitative Military Edge:** Enhanced security assistance is necessary to ensure that Israel maintains its qualitative military edge (QME) over its adversaries. Increased weapons costs and advanced arms purchases by regional states threaten to erode Israel's QME.
- **Defense Spending:** Israel spends a greater percentage of its gross domestic product (GDP) on defense than virtually any other advanced nation. U.S. assistance helps counter the great disparity in aggregate military spending between Israel and its neighbors.
- **Foreign Aid Budget:** Together with financial support for the U.S. armed forces, funding for foreign aid is an essential component of America's national security strategy. Foreign aid enables support for key allies like Israel and paves the way for U.S. diplomatic efforts.
- **Preserve Key U.S. Interests:** U.S. foreign aid is a relatively small, cost-effective investment that helps prevent more costly wars, crises and disasters. Foreign aid supports American jobs and helps to avert unstable areas from becoming breeding grounds for terrorism, poverty, disease and lawlessness—threats that can spill into other countries and undermine American interests.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

Congress should demonstrate America's unwavering commitment to Israel by taking the following actions:

- Appropriate \$3.3 billion in security assistance for Israel in Fiscal Year 2020 and \$500 million in cooperative missile defense funding, as outlined by the 2016 MOU between the two countries;
 - Maintain current funding provisions that provide for early disbursement of security assistance and permit Israel to spend a portion of the assistance domestically as outlined in the MOU;
 - Authorize expanded weapons stockpiles, as well as enhanced U.S.-Israel cooperation in such fields as anti-drone technologies, cybersecurity and space; and
 - Support a robust overall foreign aid budget in order to ensure America's strong leadership position in the world.
-

Israel Faces Increased Threats

Today, Israel faces an unprecedented array of threats stemming from growing instability and chaos gripping the region. U.S. security assistance is necessary to ensure Israel can deal with these mounting threats:

Iran: The Islamic Republic of Iran is a radical theocracy that seeks to export its revolutionary ideology abroad by supporting terrorist proxy groups—including Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in the Gaza Strip—that carry out attacks on American troops and Israeli civilians. Iran funds and arms destabilizing proxies and terrorist organizations in Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain and elsewhere throughout the region. Iran continues to provide arms, funding and personnel to the brutal Assad regime in Syria, which has repeatedly used chemical weapons against its own citizens. Tehran is also working to establish a permanent military presence along Israel's border with Syria, and a land bridge from Iran to Lebanon to facilitate ground transfers of weapons and troops to use against Israel. Iran is intent on developing nuclear weapons, as demonstrated by its nuclear archive uncovered in 2018, and has openly called for Israel's destruction.

Syria: Syria's civil war, directly to Israel's northeast, has killed more than half a million people and destabilized neighboring Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Turkey. Syria's chemical weapons have also been used in the conflict and run the risk of falling into the hands of terrorists. On occasion,

fighting has spilled over Israel's border, and Israel has had to act to prevent Iranian weapons transfers to Hezbollah and other terrorist proxies. Iran has sent troops and military advisers to bolster Assad's rule, bringing its malign influence directly to Israel's doorstep. Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) commanders control thousands of Hezbollah fighters and Iraqi, Afghani and Pakistani militiamen in Syria. They have taken advantage of the civil war to build military infrastructure—including



On Iran's behalf, thousands of Hezbollah fighters joined forces with the Assad regime to fight in the Syrian civil war.

military bases, advanced air-defense systems, and weapons production and storage facilities—across the country in order to launch direct attacks against Israel. In 2018 alone, Tehran launched 32 rockets and an armed drone at the Jewish state.

Palestinians: Hamas has continued to escalate its violent campaign against the Jewish state. The Iranian-backed terrorist group has mobilized all resources at its disposal to attack Israelis. In addition to the launching of thousands of rockets and mortars into Israel, Hamas has used incendiary kites and balloons to burn thousands of acres of Israeli farms, parks and forests. Under the guise of peaceful protests, Hamas has organized weekly riots along the Gaza-Israel border, aimed at infiltrating and attacking Israeli communities. These methods are bolstered by Hamas' complex and expensive network of terror tunnels that it hopes to use to attack and kidnap Israelis.

At the same time, the Palestinian Authority (PA) eschews bilateral negotiations with Israel in favor of unilateral actions designed to isolate and pressure Israel. PA leaders have waged a campaign of incitement against Israel, paying the families of terrorists, spurring the rise in terrorist attacks and injecting a dangerous religious element into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Lebanon: Lebanon is dominated by the Iranian-backed terrorist group Hezbollah, which has developed an arsenal of an estimated 150,000 rockets and missiles hidden amongst the country's civilian population. Hezbollah's rockets have grown increasingly sophisticated and accurate in recent years, and the group is now capable of striking any location in Israel. To further increase its ability to do so, Iran is working to build precision-guided missile factories in Lebanon. In addition, on Iran's orders, Hezbollah has been heavily involved in the Syrian civil war, fighting on behalf of the Assad regime. The combat experience the group has gained will make it a far more formidable adversary in any future conflict. Hezbollah and its allies gained a majority of seats in the May 2018 Lebanese parliamentary elections, bringing Hezbollah's political power in line with its already overwhelming military control over the country.

Islamic State: Dedicated to murdering all those who disagree with its interpretation of Islam, the Islamic State (also known as IS, ISIL, ISIS, Daish and Daesh) has focused largely on establishing a self-declared caliphate and radicalizing individuals to carry out terrorist attacks around the world. While the group has been severely weakened in Iraq and Syria, it

remains an ongoing threat. Radical Islamist groups in the Sinai Peninsula and elsewhere have sworn allegiance to IS and have carried out terrorist attacks under the group's banner. IS in Sinai engages in heavy fighting with the Egyptian army and has openly stated its intent to target Israel and eventually "liberate" Jerusalem. Indeed, the Sinai branch reportedly plotted to attack Israel's Ramon International Airport in Eilat in 2013 and launched missiles at Israel's port of Eilat in 2017.

Egypt: The Sinai Peninsula remains lawless, as militant Islamists maintain power and wage an insurgency against the Egyptian government. Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi has stated that Egypt faces "an existential threat" from the Sinai-based Islamic State, responding to the growing insurgency with tough security measures. President Sisi declared Egypt to be in a state of emergency since April 2017 and initiated counterinsurgency campaigns against the IS-affiliated jihadists in September 2015, May 2016 and most recently February 2018. Nevertheless, the insurgents continue to thrive in the Sinai, threatening Israel and risking further regional destabilization.

Jordan: Jordan's pro-Western monarchy faces challenges from militant jihadist groups and economic strains from a flood of Syrian refugees. Internal Jordanian security has degraded since 2015, resulting in rising terrorist attacks, carried out by Jordanians and primarily directed at security and military personnel. In addition, Jordan has among the highest global rates of per capita recruitment for IS volunteers who travelled to Syria and Iraq to join the Islamic State's ranks. Now, thousands of extremists have begun to return home, elevating the threat of more domestic attacks.

America's Response

Recognizing the volatility of the Middle East security environment and the resulting burdens on Israeli security, the United States has taken concrete steps to solidify its commitment to Israel's security. In Fiscal Year 2019, a new MOU came into effect, beginning a 10-year plan to provide 38 billion in security assistance to Israel along with \$5 billion for U.S.-Israel missile defense cooperation. The United States has also committed to ensuring Israel's QME over any potential array of adversaries. These funds will ensure Israel can achieve this goal.

U.S. assistance to Israel serves other American interests, as well. Under the new MOU, the 75 percent of U.S. aid to Israel that must now be spent in the United States will gradually rise to 100 percent by 2028, boosting America's defense industry. In addition, Israeli battlefield

experience and innovation help the U.S. armed forces dramatically improve American defense equipment and tactics.



U.S. security assistance to Israel helps ensure that the Jewish state can defend itself, by itself, from mounting threats in the region.

Israel's Defense Costs Have Risen Markedly

Spiraling defense costs are forcing Israel to spend more on security as a percentage of GDP than any other nation in the industrialized world. Israel officially allocates nearly 6 percent of its GDP for defense. However, the actual costs to the Israeli economy are much higher when taking into account

lost productivity and the need for reserve duty, internal security and anti-terrorism spending. Even as the Jewish state faces its own substantial budgetary pressures, Israel may have to spend \$160 billion on defense over the next decade. This is a significant increase over the previous 10-year period.

Foreign Aid Bolsters U.S. National Security

Foreign aid is an essential component of America's national security strategy. Today, the U.S. foreign aid budget helps strengthen civil society and builds institutional and economic capacity in the very places where hundreds of thousands of American soldiers are risking their lives.

As U.S. military leaders have repeatedly and readily acknowledged, a powerful military is inadequate unless it is backed up by a strong civilian diplomatic presence and the financial resources to help friends and undermine adversaries. By advancing economic, political and social stability in poor nations, foreign aid helps prevent these areas from becoming breeding grounds for terrorism.

Our foreign aid program embodies core American values. We assist the most vulnerable; promote democracy, pluralism and human rights; and encourage self-sufficiency and adherence to the rule of law.

Asserting U.S. Economic Leadership and Creating American Jobs

In today's globalized economy, U.S. foreign aid continues to help American companies develop foreign markets and build stable business environments in developing countries. This, ultimately, creates more jobs at home. Foreign aid programs help bring education, health care and transportation to hundreds of millions of potential new customers. Today, one in five American jobs is linked to U.S. exports. Foreign markets offer significant opportunities to expand the American economy.

By helping countries establish stable governments and economies, the United States can foster a new customer base for American business and create more jobs at home. By funding commercial attachés and trade assistance programs, foreign aid helps U.S. businesses create the relationships and support they need to sell in foreign markets.

Investing Modestly to Save Money in the Long Run

At just 1 percent of the budget, foreign aid is a cost-effective and relatively small investment that saves U.S. taxpayers money. It is cheaper and more effective to spend foreign aid dollars today than defense dollars later. Effective foreign assistance programs help prevent terrorist attacks, weapons proliferation, pandemic disease, economic meltdown, societal collapse and the spread of radical ideology.

Chapter 7

Hezbollah



Hezbollah is an Iranian-backed, Lebanon-based terrorist organization that poses a direct threat to American interests and Israeli security. Hezbollah maintains an advanced military arsenal larger than many national armies. The terrorist group, which has been battle-hardened from fighting at Iran's behest in Syria, also dominates the Lebanese government. Designated a terrorist organization by the United States since 1995, Hezbollah has killed more Americans than any terrorist group other than al-Qaeda.

Key Points

- **Major Terrorist Threat:** The Iranian terrorist proxy Hezbollah continues to pose a direct threat to both the United States and Israel. Hezbollah has launched dozens of attacks against Israel—including provoking the Second Lebanon War in 2006, which claimed more than a thousand lives.
- **Advanced Weapons Arsenal:** Hezbollah's weapons stockpile includes an estimated 150,000 rockets and missiles. The terrorist organization could launch more than 1,000 rockets per day at Israel in a future war. Some of Hezbollah's munitions are medium- and long-range with sophisticated guidance systems that support pinpoint targeting, with every Israeli city, town and military installation within reach. The arsenal is also a direct violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701, which calls for the disarmament of all non-state groups in Lebanon.
- **Iranian Support:** Hezbollah was founded by Iran and continues to receive significant funding, weapons and direction from Tehran. Iran has taken advantage of the chaos of the Syrian civil war to transfer advanced weaponry to Hezbollah, intended to be used against Israel in future conflict.
- **Battle-Hardened From Syrian Civil War:** Hezbollah, at Iran's command, has fought on behalf of Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad and directly contributed to the slaughter of more than half a million Syrians. Thousands of Hezbollah fighters taking part in the conflict are now battletested, making the group a more capable adversary in any future war with Israel.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

Congress should continue to exert economic pressure on Hezbollah, while also supporting Israel's ability to defend itself in any future conflict with the terrorist organization. Specifically, Congress should:

- Ensure tough enforcement of existing sanctions and impose additional sanctions on Hezbollah. Congress should ensure full implementation of the Hizballah International Financing Prevention Amendments Act of 2018 and continue to advance new legislative measures to counter the threat from Hezbollah;
- Sanction Hezbollah for its use of human shields, as called for in the Sanctioning the Use of Civilians as Defenseless Shields Act, and encourage the international community to also address Hezbollah's blatant human rights violations. The international community should insist that Hezbollah remove its weapons and fighters from populated areas and stop using Lebanese civilians as human shields;
- Continue urging the European Union to designate Hezbollah—in its entirety—as a terrorist organization. Congress should reiterate there is no distinction between Hezbollah's military and political components;
- Ensure that Israel has the means to defend itself—by itself—against Hezbollah threats. Congress should support full funding of security assistance to Israel and joint missile defense funding as called for in the 2016 U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding on security assistance; and
- Continue to make clear that the United States will support Israel, should it be compelled to defend itself in any future conflict with Hezbollah.

Hezbollah Calls for the Destruction of Israel

Led by Shia clerics, Hezbollah follows the radical doctrines of the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini—the leader of Iran’s 1979 Islamic Revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran—and regularly calls for the destruction of the State of Israel. The group’s chief,



Hezbollah’s leader, Hassan Nasrallah, has referred to Israel as a “cancerous growth,” and vowed to seek its destruction.

Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah, often refers to Israel as a “cancerous growth,” adding that “the only solution is to destroy it without giving it the opportunity to surrender.”

Hezbollah Possesses an Advanced Rocket and Missile Arsenal

In 2006, Hezbollah provoked a 34-day war with Israel during which it launched thousands of rockets into densely populated areas of northern Israel. Today, Hezbollah has a more advanced and destructive weapons stockpile, including an estimated 150,000

rockets and missiles. The terrorist organization has several thousand medium- and long-range munitions, some of which are equipped with sophisticated guidance systems that support pinpoint targeting. Every Israeli city, town and military installation is within range of Hezbollah’s arsenal. In a future conflict, Hezbollah could launch more than 1,000 rockets per day into Israel (compared with 130-180 per day in 2006). This sheer quantity of rockets and missiles could challenge Israel’s missile defense systems, potentially inflicting serious damage, causing mass evacuations and disrupting Israel’s economy.

Hezbollah Can Challenge Israel from the Air, Sea, Land and Underground

Hezbollah can threaten Israeli military and civilian aircraft deep within Israel with its advanced surface-to-air missile systems. These include Russian-designed systems that can simultaneously engage multiple targets at high altitudes at a 30-mile distance—far into northern Israel. Hezbollah is believed to possess advanced radar to help its anti-aircraft systems

target Israeli aircraft, including helicopters and UAVs. Hezbollah also has drones that can be used for intelligence and direct attacks against Israel.

The terrorist group possesses advanced anti-ship Yakhont cruise missiles that could be used to strike Israel's offshore gas platforms and naval vessels. Hezbollah is also constructing offensive infiltration tunnels into Israel, similar to Hamas' attack tunnels in the Gaza Strip. Israel uncovered and destroyed multiple Hezbollah tunnels in December 2018. In addition, some reports have indicated that Hezbollah may possess chemical weapons stockpiles and is developing them for use against Israeli civilians in the event of a future war.

Hezbollah Pushes Iran's Agenda

Hezbollah continues to serve as Iran's proxy and promotes Tehran's malign behavior throughout the region. Hezbollah, at Iran's command, has fought on behalf of Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad and now maintains a significant presence in many areas of Syria, with additional influence in Iraq, Yemen, Bahrain, Afghanistan and elsewhere. Hezbollah receives political, economic and diplomatic backing from Iran, in addition to sophisticated weaponry and military training. Iran's annual support for Hezbollah has reportedly increased from \$200 million in 2012 to \$800 million in 2017. Iran supplies Hezbollah advanced weaponry by land, sea and air. Iran continues work to establish a land bridge (from Iran through Iraq and Syria to Lebanon) to transfer to Hezbollah heavier arms and larger quantities of weapons. Reports also indicate Iran is working with Hezbollah to construct precision-guided missile factories in Lebanon.

Hezbollah's Ranks Are Now Battle-Tested from Fighting in Syria

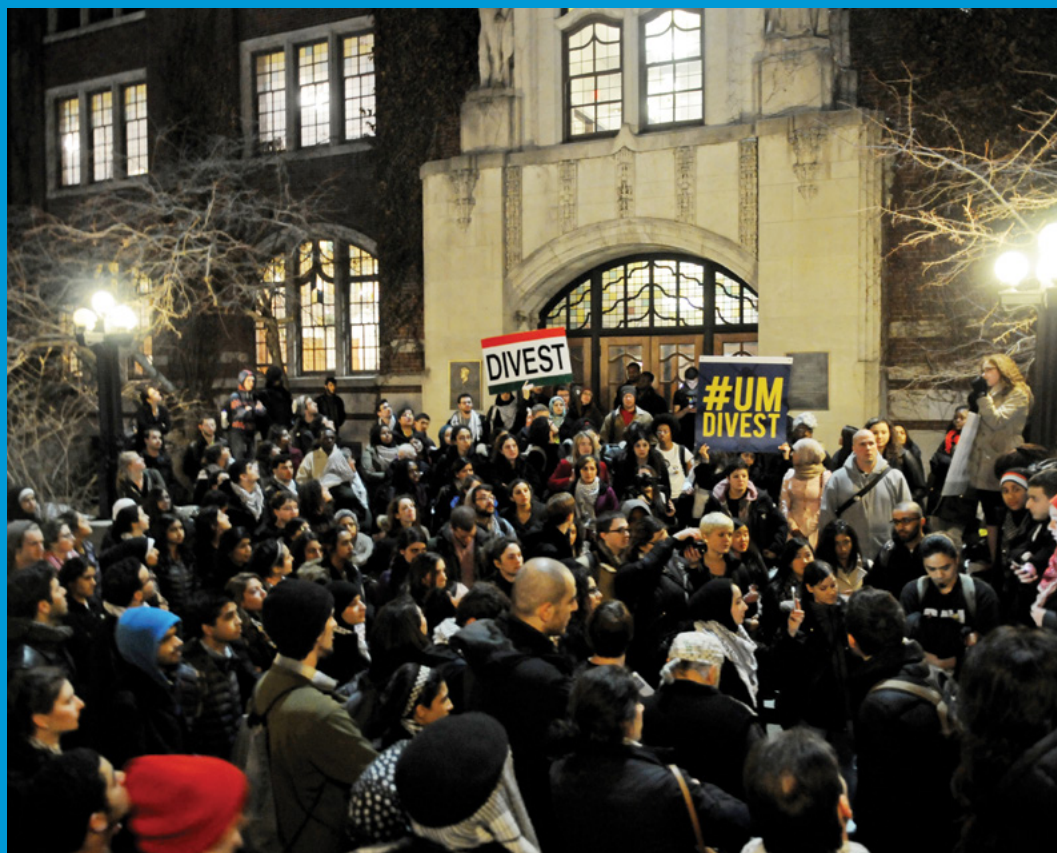
Following the onset of the Syrian civil war in 2011, Hezbollah deployed 6,000-8,000 of its combatants to fight alongside Iran's IRGC-Quds Force and prop up the brutal regime of President Bashar al-Assad. These troops have gained significant battlefield experience and expertise that could be applied in a future offensive against Israel. The group has become so crucial to Assad's war effort that it often spearheads and organizes joint military attacks. Many Syrian units reportedly will not fight without Hezbollah forces in the lead.

Hezbollah Hides Behind Human Shields

Hezbollah continues to place Lebanese civilians at extreme risk in any future conflict by embedding its forces and weapons throughout civilian areas—a clear violation of international law. Hezbollah's leaders have installed missiles in mosques, hospitals, homes and schools—making virtually all of southern Lebanon a maze of Hezbollah underground bunkers, command posts, rocket-launch sites and interconnecting tunnels. If Israel is ever forced to take action against Hezbollah, many innocent Lebanese will likely suffer because of the terrorists' strategy, despite the Jewish state's extraordinary efforts to minimize civilian casualties.

Chapter 8

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement



Since Israel's founding in 1948, its enemies have repeatedly attempted to undermine and ultimately destroy the Jewish state through military assaults, terrorist attacks and actions at international organizations. More recently, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign has emerged in an effort to stigmatize, delegitimize and isolate the State of Israel.

Key Points

- **The BDS Movement:** The BDS movement is a campaign explicitly designed to coerce only one party to the conflict, Israel. BDS essentially argues that Israel is the sole party responsible for the stalemate in the peace process and therefore should be unilaterally punished through boycotts, divestment and sanctions.
- **Delegitimization of Israel:** At its heart, BDS does not aim to effect positive political change or improve the situation for Palestinians. The BDS movement's objective is to delegitimize Israel and undermine its right to exist.
- **Dangerous and Disingenuous Equivalence:** BDS dishonestly equates former apartheid South Africa with present-day Israel in order to enlist people of conscience in a global campaign of economic and social pressure.
- **Undermines Peace:** BDS undermines the prospects for peace by relieving Palestinians of the need to negotiate with Israel and by promoting demands that forgo any expectation of compromise.
- **Isolation Campaign:** BDS proponents seek to drive a wedge between Israel and the rest of the world—separating Israel's government, businesses, universities and people from their partners abroad.

The Important Role That Congress Can Play

For decades, Congress has played a central role in countering diplomatic attacks and economic warfare against Israel.

In the 1970s, Congress passed key legislation to prevent American companies from complying with the Arab League boycott. Lawmakers enacted penalties for those abiding by the Arab League boycott and collaborated with the U.S. Trade Representative to press potential free trade partners to end such harmful practices.

In the 2000s, Congress was instrumental in prompting provisions to be included in the U.S. free trade deals with Oman and Bahrain that led to both countries ending their boycott of Israel.

Congress should continue to strengthen the U.S.-Israel relationship by countering divestment with investment and take the following actions:

- Continue efforts to pass bipartisan legislation to push back against the boycott of Israel; and
 - Find new ways to help strengthen and deepen the U.S.-Israel alliance, including through full implementation of the U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership Act of 2014, which formally designated Israel as a “strategic partner.”
-

A History of U.S. Efforts of Combat Boycotts of Israel

The United States has long defined Israel's survival and security as important to its own national interests. To this end, Congress and successive administrations have sought to deepen bilateral economic ties and protect Israel against pernicious boycott efforts. American courts have consistently upheld the constitutionality of legislation opposing such boycotts.

1959 – Congress passes legislation expressing opposition to the Arab League boycott.

1965 – Congress mandates reporting of any requests by Arab League members that U.S. companies participate in the boycott of Israel.

1976 – Congress includes the Ribicoff Amendment in the 1976 Tax Reform Act, denying tax benefits to firms that participate in the Arab League boycott.

1977 – Congress includes a provision in the Export Administration Act (EAA) barring compliance with the Arab League boycott and authorizing penalties to enforce it. Congress also approves the creation and funding of three bilateral U.S.-Israel foundations to promote commercial, agriculture and scientific cooperation.

1979 – Congress extends the EAA and includes further anti-boycott provisions.

1983 – *Trane Co. v. Baldrige* acknowledges that the government has a substantial interest in “forestalling attempts by foreign governments to ‘embroil American citizens in their battles against others by forcing them to participate in actions which are repugnant to American values and traditions.’”

1984 – *Briggs Stratton Corp. v. Baldrige* stresses that federal courts have found there is no First Amendment right “to answer questions asked by Arab boycott offices pursuant to the Arabs’ trade boycott of Israel.”

1985 – The U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement (FTA) is signed, constituting America's first free trade agreement. The FTA galvanizes expanded trade and investment between the two allies.

2005 – The U.S. government secures a commitment from Saudi Arabia to end its boycott against Israel during negotiations for the Gulf state to accede to the World Trade Organization.

2005/2006 – As a condition of approving FTAs with Bahrain (2005) and Oman (2006), Congress mandates that the two countries dismantle their boycott activities against Israel.

2015 – Congress passes both the Bipartisan Congressional Trade Priorities and Accountability Act, and the Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act. These statutes discourage U.S. trading partners from politically motivated commercial actions against Israel.

National and International BDS

Though philosophically and effectively similar to the Arab League boycott, BDS represents a new and unique challenge to Israel, as it pirates the language of international law in its pursuit. Such efforts attempt to make routine business with Israel more difficult, sanctionable or even liable to criminal prosecutions. For example:

- Sweden's Nordea Bank, Denmark's Danske Bank and the Netherlands' largest pension fund have all divested from Israeli financial institutions; and



The BDS movement aims to unfairly isolate and delegitimize the Jewish state.

- In March 2016, the U.N. Human Rights Council voted to establish a database, or “blacklist,” to name companies operating beyond the “Green Line,” including, among other areas, East Jerusalem and the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.

These actions not only seek to harm Israel economically, they also seek to erode confidence in Israel's legitimacy, in order to weaken and ultimately destroy the Jewish state.

BDS Hinders Peace

BDS proponents have threatened Israel with economic penalties if it does not make unilateral political concessions outside the context of direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. In seeking to impose such one-sided “solutions” on Israel, BDS undermines the prospects for peace by relieving Palestinians of the need to negotiate with Israel and by promoting demands that forgo any expectation of compromise. In this way, such action bolsters the Palestinian Authority’s belief that it can secure its objectives without engaging in direct talks with Israel, making it more difficult to achieve a lasting peace.

BDS on Campus

On U.S. college campuses, BDS efforts are most evident when student governments consider resolutions to single out and punish Israel. To date, only a handful of student governments have passed BDS resolutions, and in each case, the college or university has swiftly issued a repudiation.

In fact, despite the efforts of Israel’s detractors, no U.S. college or university has divested from Israel or companies doing business with Israel.

Rather, the real focus of BDS on campus is to create skepticism in the minds of students about Israel’s legitimacy. Seeds of doubt are intended to bloom decades later when graduates hold positions of power and authority—and can withhold tangible support or even contest Israel’s right to exist.

Appendix - Maps





The Jewish people re-established the State of Israel in 1948, nearly 2,000 years after the destruction of a Jewish commonwealth in the Holy Land.



ISRAEL'S NARROW WAISTBAND

At its narrowest point, Israel is only 9 miles wide from the Mediterranean Sea to the West Bank, with half of its population and infrastructure in a 60-mile strip along the coastline.



PROXIMITY TO NEIGHBORS

The Jewish state shares borders with four nations, and is in close proximity to capital cities and strategic points in neighboring countries, including the Suez Canal and Tabuk—home to a Saudi air force base.



WEAPONS SMUGGLING ROUTES

Iran provides advanced weaponry to Hamas in Gaza, Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Assad regime in Syria using various land, sea and air routes.

**SIZE
COMPARISON**

Israel is the 154th largest country in the world. Its land mass is comparable to Fiji, Slovenia and El Salvador, and is less than 1/400th the size of the United States.



United States

Area: 3.79 million sq mi
Approx. 453 times larger than Israel



Israel

Population: 8.52 million

Area: 8,367 sq mi



New Jersey

Israel is often compared to the state of New Jersey in term of size.

**THE
MIDDLE
EAST**

Israel is surrounded by Arab nations. All but Egypt and Jordan refuse to recognize or normalize relations with Israel.





Notes

[illegible]

Notes

